

(Corrected Copy) *not used*

On the Conversation between Foreign  
Minister Hirota and Chinese Ambassador  
Chiang Concerning the Japanese Policy  
Towards China.

Dated October 10, 1935.

Sent to the Japanese embassies at Nanking and Hsinking and the  
Japanese consulates at Peiping, Tientsin, Chi-nan, Tsingtau,  
Nanking, Hankau, Foochow, Amoy and Canton respectively.

from Foreign Minister Hirota.

Cipher tel. No. 747. (Strictly Confidential.)

Concerning the previous cipher telegram No. 688.

Chinese Ambassador Chiang Tsuo-pin, who had returned to his post at Tokyo during the latter part of August, after a short stay in his home country in order to make arrangement with Chiang Kai-shek, visited me twice and made various proposals as to how to effect a break in the deadlock over the Sino-Japanese relations. He called on me for the third time on October 7, and asked my opinions in connection with the Chinese proposals. I explained, in reply, the following three points which we consider absolutely necessary for the desired Sino-Japanese coalition, with introductory remarks that I was going to tell him frankly the result of consultations which I have had with all sorts and conditions of men.

(1) It is the most sincere desire of Japan that peace be maintained in East Asia. This, however, will be attained only through the mutual understanding and cooperation, not only between Japan and China, but among the three countries in East Asia: Japan, Manchoukuo and China. And it is absolutely necessary that China should shun the attitude of "getting barbarians to check barbarians" in order to establish the desired friendly relations between Japan and China, in consideration of the doubts the whole Japanese nation harbours that China is making use of the influence of the

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Western Powers to check Japan. Therefore it is requested that China should stop, at least, the anti-Japanese movements, especially the boycott of Japanese goods and the anti-Japanese education, and make further efforts in realizing the Sino-Japanese coalition.

(2) It is most desirable, in order to readjust the tripartite relations among Japan, Manchoukuo and China, that China should recognize Manchoukuo at this juncture, though circumstances may impede it. China should pave the way, at least, for the realization of de facto coalition among the three countries, in economical as well as cultural fields, in North China where China borders on Manchoukuo, by recognizing in effect the undeniable independence of Manchoukuo, if circumstances impede the formal recognition.

(3) The expansion of the Communist influence will prove a menace, not only to China, but also to Japan and Manchoukuo. Therefore it is recommended that the three countries should have a frank deliberation in order to find out a common counter-measure against it.

I told Ambassador Chiang further, concerning the three fundamental points on the part of China which he submitted to me on the previous occasion ("a" Japan and China should respect each other's perfect independence in the eye of the international law, "b" should maintain true friendship between them, "c" and settle all the problems by peaceful diplomatic measures), that we could consent to the Chinese proposals, and accordingly expect their effect, after we reach an understanding with each other as regards the Japanese three points mentioned above.

The reply of Ambassador Chiang was to the following effect.

(1) As to the control of the anti-Japanese movement, he desired that Japan should observe the man who would hereafter take charge of the matter in the Nationalist Government. (It is likely that he suggested by that his assuming the office of Chinese Foreign Minister.)



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(2) Concerning the de facto recognition of Manchoukuo, he said he could not give an immediate answer on his own responsibility, but promised to convey our opinions to the Chinese Government one of these days.

(3) As for the proposal to take common counter-measures against Communist activities, it was his opinion that there are many points that must undergo further critical study, as to whether there is real necessity for its prompt operation, and as to how and in which region it should be brought in effect.

He promised he would call on me several more times before leaving Tokyo, for further exchange of views, adding that he would start for China during the period from October 20 to 25.

This message was directed to the embassies at Nanking, Hsinking, London and Washington, and the consulates at Peiping, Tientsin, Tsintau, Nanking, Hankau, Foochow, Amoy and Canton respectively. The embassy at London was ordered to transmit it in cipher to all the embassies in the European countries except Turkey, and the embassy at Washington to that at Rio de Janeiro.

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C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, HAYASHI, Kaoru, Chief of the Archives Section, Japanese Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached in Japanese consisting of 5 pages and entitled "Telegram No. Go-747 from Hirota, Foreign Minister, to Ambassadors to China and Manchoukuo, First Secretary of Embassy at Peking, Consul-Generals at Tientsin, Tsinan, Tsintao, Nanking, Hankow, Fuchow and Kuangtung, and Consul at Amoy, despatched on October 10, 1935, concerning the interview between the Foreign Minister and the Chinese Ambassador" is an exact and true copy of an official document of the Japanese Foreign Office.

Certified at Tokyo,  
on this 17th day of January, 1947.

(Signed)

K. HAYASHI  
Signature of Official

Witness: (Signed) Nagaharu, ODO



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發電昭和十年十月十日

對支政策ニ關シ大臣將大使會談ノ件

支、滿、北平、天津、濟南、青島

南京、漢口、福州、厦門、廣東

廣田外務大臣

暗合第七四七號 極秘級

往電第六八八號ニ關シ

先般歸國ノ上野介石等ト種々打合ノ上八月下旬  
歸任セル蔣大使ハ歸任後二同來訪日支關係打  
開策ニ關シ種々申出アル所アリタルカ七日同  
大使來訪右申出ニ對スル本大臣ノ意見ヲ求メ  
タルニ付本大臣ヨリ其ノ後各方面トモ協議シ  
タルガ本日ハ相談ノ結果ヲ卒直ニ御話致スヘ  
シト前提シ

(一) 日本ハ東亞ノ平和維持ヲ最モ重念シ居ル處  
右ハ單ニ日支兩國間ノ諒解提携ニ依リ始メ  
達成セラル、次第ナリ之カ爲ニハ先ツ日支  
間ニ眞ノ親善關係ヲ確立スルコト肝要ナリ  
ト思考スル處日本官民ニ於テハ支那側ニテ  
ハ常々歐米ノ勢力ヲ利用シテ、日本ヲ牽制

スル傾向アリト疑ヒ居ルヲ以テ所謂以夷  
制夷ノ態度ヲ改ムルコト肝要ニシテ此ノ  
際支那側ニ於テ夢クトモ排日殊ニ日貨排  
斥、排日教育等ヲ全然止ムルト共ニ更ニ  
進ンデ積極的ニ日支提携ノ實ヲ舉クル様

一層努力スルコト

(一) 日滿支三國ノ關係調整ノ爲ニハ支那側ニ  
於テ此ノ際滿洲國ノ承認ヲ斷行スルコト  
最上ナルモ支那側トシテモ對内其ノ他ノ  
關係上正式承認ヲ困難トスル事情アルヘ  
キヲ以テ若シ承認困難ナルニ於テハ差當  
リ滿洲國ノ獨立ヲ、既存ノ事實ヲ無視ス  
ルコトナク之ガ存在ヲ事實上承認スルコ  
トニ依リ少ク共滿支接壤地域タル北支ニ  
於テハ日滿支三國間ニ事實上充分ナル經  
済的文化的提携ノ出來得ル様スルコト

(二) 赤化勢力ノ傳播ハ單ニ支那ニ取ツテノミ  
ナラス日滿兩國延イテハ東亞全般ニ對ス  
ル脅威ナルヲ以テ之ニ對抗スル爲日滿支  
三國間ニ虚心坦懷、共同ノ方策ヲ相談ス  
ルコト

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ノ三點ハ日支提携ノ爲ノ絶對必要條件ニシ  
テ先日御話ノ支那側三原則（日文兩國ハイ）  
相手國ノ降法上ニ於ケル完全ナル獨立ヲ尊  
重シ（ロ）真正ノ友誼ヲ維持シ（ハ）一切ノ事件ヲ  
平和的外交手段ニ依リ解決スルコトナル  
モノモ石（一）乃至（三）ノ三條件ニ付日支間話  
合出來タル後始メテ御相談ニモ應シ得ヘリ  
又其ノ效果ヲ期待シ得ル理ナリト告ケタル  
將大使ハ

（一）排日取締ニ關シテハ今後實際國民政府ノ局

ニ當ル者ニ付見ラレ度（暗ニ同大使ノ外交  
部長就任ヲ意味スルヤニ察セラレタリ）

（二）滿洲國ノ獨立ヲ事實上認ムヘシトハ御意見

ニ關シテハ自分限りニテハ返答スルヲ得サ  
ルニ付何レ本國政府へ申達スヘシ

（三）赤化勢力ニ對スル共同方策ノ點ニ關シテハ  
直チニ其實行ノ必要アリヤ又其ノ方法及地  
域等ニ付キテハ尙種々考究ヲ要スル點多カ  
ルヘシ

尙自分ハ廿日乃至廿五日頃ニハ歸國スヘキニ付  
夫レ迄ノ間ニ更ニ數回御訪問ノ上意見ノ交換

4

ヲナスコト、彼處ニト述ベタリ

語順轉寫の誤謬をうけたに違ふのフナニ）  
 日經より陸軍省のフナニ（國に軍兵）ノ年次  
 〔盛田景隆の〕フナニ（本朝は國に軍兵）ノ年  
 次大體（）

[illegible]



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文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書 (三號)

自分等ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處、茲ニ添附セラレタル  
日本語ニ依ツテ書カレ五頁ヨリ成ル支那大使トノ會見ニ關スル廣田外  
務大臣ヨリ駐滿支大使在北京一等書記官天津濟南青島南京漢口福州廣  
東各總領事及厦門領事宛電報第合一七四七號昭和十二年十月十日發ト  
題スル書類ハ日本政府(外務省)ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ拔萃ノ正確ニ  
シテ眞實ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年一月十七日 於東京

林

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日 於 同 所

立會人

浦

部

勝

局